

# THE BLACK PANTHER

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## DAVID HILLIARD BELONGS WITH THE PEOPLE



SEE ARTICLE INSIDE PAGE 2 ALSO, SEE SUPPLEMENT  
OAKLAND -A BASE OF OPERATION PART XXI PAGES A, B, & C

SURVIVAL TICKET  
VOTE FOR  
SURVIVAL

**BOBBY SEALE FOR MAYOR OF OAKLAND**  
**ELAINE BROWN FOR COUNCILWOMAN**





# DAVID HILLIARD BELONGS WITH THE PEOPLE



*Both Brother DAVID HILLIARD and Brother BOBBY SEALE have faced police and judicial persecution for their political views.*

David Hilliard of the Black Panther Party, respected in the Black community for his progressive ideas and unending work, went before representatives of the California Adult Authority on Wednesday, December 6th. The three-man committee, who gathered in judgement of David, was considered a preliminary screening panel. They reportedly favored David's parole and recommended him for "official consideration" next week on December 12th.

The people have carefully watched the series of events preceeding the December 6th preliminary parole hearing. Through the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, we have kept the people further informed of the prison official's mistreatment of David Hilliard.

David Hilliard has been denied adequate medical attention throughout his imprisonment; he suffers from an ulcerated stomach made worse from the neglect of those who imprison him. At one point it became necessary to bring immediate legal and political pressure to bear to secure David's transfer from Folsom State Prison to the Vacaville Medical Facility where he is now imprisoned. He is still without his needed medication and lacks a proper diet. He is given the option

of going to the special diet kitchen or receiving his medication, which arrives at the same time that he is to leave his cell for the diet kitchen. He is not permitted to do both (which is necessary for proper care of his ulcer).

Nine days before David was scheduled to have his preliminary screening, he was, without cause, placed in punitive isolation (the "hole") in order to discredit him, making his already slim chances of being released even less likely. It has become common knowledge that David would not be in prison (after 18 months) if he were not a member of the Black Panther Party, if he were not a leader in our community, if he were not a revolutionary.

On December 5th, the Black Panther Party held a press conference at the State Capitol building in Sacramento (Calif.). Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins spoke along with David Hilliard's attorney, Charles Garry, and other members of the Black community. Herman Blake, acting provost at the University of Santa Cruz also gave support to David in the Capitol's press room. The press conference opened with statements from Attorney Charles Garry who said, "David Hilliard... of the Black Panther Party is coming

up for parole on the 6th of December... When David Hilliard was tried in Oakland, California, about 18 months ago, he had a probation hearing and a probation officer made two observations in a probation report. One of them was that David Hilliard was not connected with the activities that took place for which he was convicted. Secondly, he should not, in any way serve any more than one year in the county jail; he recommended probation. None of these recommendations were followed and David Hilliard was sent to the penitentiary (where he has remained 18 months)."

Charles Garry went on to say that David Hilliard was first imprisoned in the Adjustment Center at San Luis Obispo. He was then transferred to the Adjustment Center at Folsom State Prison. Garry explained that when the prison officials were asked why David Hilliard was transferred (to Folsom) we were told that it was, simply, because he was a member of the Black Panther Party.

Ericka Huggins of the Black Panther Party was asked to give an account of the 50,000 signatures which were signed in petitions de-

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# SENIORS AGAINST A FEARFUL ENVIRONMENT

## BLACK PANTHER PARTY INITIATES S.A.F.E. PROGRAM TO PROTECT SENIOR CITIZENS



*Seniors Against a Fearful Environment (S.A.F.E.) provides free transportation and escort service for senior citizens to and from community banks the first of each month.*

"The S.A.F.E. Program (Seniors Against A Fearful Environment) is a Black Panther Party community survival program for senior citizens. We've initiated a transport-escort service; a kind of busing and patrolling system which will protect senior citizens against the numerous muggings in the community. We implemented this

program because the seniors asked us to help solve the problem of attacks on the elderly. On the days that seniors go to the banks to cash their social security and pension checks, they are sometimes mugged. Since the police department does not do its job, we have initiated S.A.F.E. We will put it into practice the first of every month on the days the senior citizens receive their checks. S.A.F.E. is a non-profit corporation; people may donate funds to it. We're going to move this program to a point where we can receive funds from poverty boards to stabilize it. We will broaden the program once it gets fund-

ed so that senior citizens can call upon this transportation-escort service for rides to community activities or to any of the places they want to go. In our work with the senior citizens in the past, both in Oakland and in Berkeley, this problem has been brought to us. Senior citizens demanded that something be done. We then got together and began to formulate a concrete program that would serve senior citizens.

"The Black Panther Party is demanding that muggers and would-be muggers stop these acts. We're calling upon the community to support the program and look out for the welfare of our elderly citizens; if it had not been for senior citizens, we would not be here. At the same time, we are trying to create a program in which youth will be hired, trained, and given an understanding of how they can be employed to serve the elderly. We plan to expand this program throughout the city of Oakland.

The previous words are excerpts from a statement made to the news media by Brother Bobby Seale, people's candidate for mayor of Oakland, at a press conference held to initiate the Black Panther Party's S.A.F.E. program. The program began Monday, December 4th, at the Satellite Senior Homes for the elderly in West Oakland. Free transportation and escort service was provided for the senior citizens to and from banks so that they could cash their checks without fear of being robbed or beaten. The response and efforts of the seniors and the community made the program's initial effort an outstanding success. This support will be the force what will enable the city-wide expansion of S.A.F.E. in the future.

Throughout the existence of the Black Panther Party and through the implementation of our twenty community survival programs, we have often aided senior citizens with transportation and other services. They are so often forgotten by the community. S.A.F.E. is a result of planning and organizing. The Black Panther Party to aid in solving the problem of the increased number of robberies in the community. The program will be governed by an independent board of directors comprised of people who have shown an interest and ability to help the elderly. When the seniors asked the Oakland Police Department for more protection, they received only suggestions: "Walk closer to the curb, away from the buildings." Recently, the Oakland City Council gave the police department over \$55,000 for another police helicopter that will patrol the city from the air while senior citizens are being mugged on the ground. These acts show the gross concern the city government has for the aged.

Every month for the next few months we will transport elderly people, and at the same time work to get the program funded by the local poverty programs. Sister Ruth Jones, who is one of the most active seniors working in an effort to improve their conditions, is a member of the West Oakland Planning Committee (W.O.P.C.) Board, which controls poverty funds in the West Oakland area. She will ask the board to fund S.A.F.E. and put to good use some of the community's tax dollars. Money has been wasted on misguided programs in the past. Although millions of dollars have been allocated to local poverty

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# WE MUST ORGANIZE AND UNIFY THE PEOPLE

## BOBBY SEALE SPEAKS AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

### (CONCLUSION)

Richard Nixon is not playing games. They're getting ready for the escalation of violent repression again. They slowed down before the election in November. The Chicago 7 (seven men who were indicted for inciting to riot at the 1968 Democratic National Convention; Bobby Seale was the eighth defendant; he was severed from the trial) are preparing to go back to trial to face contempt charges. Last spring they dropped the charges against me. Actually the District Attorney decided that they didn't want to have a jury trial to try me on the charges. Since Nixon won this election, he may call the D.A. and tell him to take me to court on contempt charges. They're going to move against us. They're not playing games.

We have to stabilize this movement, get beyond the rhetoric and the talk. At the March 29th Survival Conference in Oakland, California, we gave away 10,000 free bags of groceries with a chicken in every bag. 2 1/2 - 3 pound chickens. Sixteen thousand Black people came. I hadn't seen that many Black people come together for anything since the days of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King. Ten thousand bags of groceries. A lot of groceries. Have you ever seen 10,000 chickens in a supermarket? Imagine 10,000 bags of groceries. I had to go to the churches to get people to help bag the groceries; we had to go to the streets and organize gangs. We broadcast information on the local Black radio station so much that five Black sisters and brothers who worked at the station helped to bag groceries. We organized over 600 persons from all these different segments of the Black community.

One phenomenal thing occurred. The young Black brothers and sisters who were sorting the boxes of wholesale can goods that we bought (we got them wholesale, without the label) lined up chairs all across the warehouse, and in about every two or three seats we would seat one of the elderly sisters who was there from the church. They couldn't pick up the heavy boxes, so we gave each of them a black felt tip pen. We had the young brothers and sisters take the boxes to the elderly women so they could write "corn", "peas", "beans", or whatever the name of the food was in the can. What was happening? The elderly mother and the young brother, who were basically disunited in the community, were unified within the framework of the survival programs. They began talking with each other, caring about each other. It really dawned on me then what unity in the Black com-



**BOBBY SEALE**, commenting on the Free Food Program: "If there are no concrete programs to pull the people together. . . , to unify them, then we are doing nothing."

munity really meant. It's been an empty word in the past. If there are no concrete programs to pull the people together as human beings, to unify them, then we are doing nothing.

That's what the survival programs are all about. They are not reformist or revolutionary in themselves. The survival program is a means, a tool with which we can organize and unify the people for future liberation.

We must transform this system. If there is a boot pushing down on our necks, the boot of the oppressor, what can we do? We have to reach up and twist that boot and tumble the oppressive system flat on its back. How do we organize the people? How can we use our money and skills? We have to utilize the skills of doctors, lawyers and all of the so-called Black bourgeoisie. We need them. We need them to commit themselves to the revolutionary struggle. In the city of Oakland, for

example, we've unified some of the colleges. Five colleges in the area (three of them, Merritt, Laney, and Grove Street College are in Oakland) are prepared to work in, or set up, community programs. We organized the Black Students Alliance, which is composed of representatives from all the Black Student Unions and Afro-American Student groups on the campuses. I explained something to them-- I told them that the Mayor cannot run the city of Oakland by himself. I told them (along with representatives of students from the Asian and Chicano communities) that there are 3,000 positions which have to be filled in the city government agencies. I can't appoint anyone who will appoint more reactionaries. I'm going to appoint a revolutionary to the position of city manager. I'm going to appoint him, and he's going to appoint some of you (the stu-

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dents), those of you who have committed yourselves. We have to make these institutions fulfill the desires of the people.

Oakland is typical of many large cities, 62% of all the personnel who work in the city of Oakland are diehard racists. They don't live in Oakland; 70% of the police don't even live in the city. They need to be fired. Who can we put in these places? We can appoint Black brothers and sisters, poor and oppressed people. When we get down to it we're talking about the Black community moving for power and control. This is the biggest threat to the system yet. Once you remove the lackeys of the corporate capitalists, the system will malfunction. Once you take over and change the police department, the city is in trouble (It won't be necessary to fire many of them. When I get elected mayor, 1/2 of them are going to quit.) Every assembly district, every Congressional district, every poverty program and tenant's union has to be taken over by the people to make sure that they function in opposition to the power structure, in opposition to oppression. Not only will we have four more years

of Nixon, Nixon will have four more years of us.

The Black Panther Party will not defect from the Black community; we have to organize in the Black community. I would like to point out that the economics of our philosophy is that of redistribution of the wealth. This country is the wealthiest, most technological society in the world. The redistribution of the wealth will not occur in any idealistic form, it will occur through a process. That process will involve organizing the people around concrete issues. We have to involve them in the programs on a massive scale, then, if the programs are attacked, they will actually pick up guns to defend them. Guns are used at a particular time and in a particular situation. If you're putting up a People's Free Medical Research Health Clinic, you cannot put the nails in the wall with a .357 magnum; you must use a hammer. A hammer is used at this time, in this situation. We must educate the people so that they can establish these programs. If the police attack us, we will pick up guns to defend our right to pick up the hammer, to put the nail in the wall, to build the program. We want to keep the racist power structure in a position where it

is the aggressor; we don't want to play the game of being the aggressor. We cannot kill 1,200,000 police in this country who are armed for over-kill. Revolution is a process; it is not rhetoric, it's not talk. The movement in this country has got to win the confidence of the people before the Nixons can be stopped. As long as the electoral process exists, as long as the consciousness of the people dictates that they should vote, we will confront the government in this manner.

The press has distorted the Black Panther Party, but I'm telling you truthfully what has to be done in the next four years and after. We have to get rid of oppression and pollution. The greatest form of pollution which ever hit the face of the earth is the pollution by the U.S. government of people all over the world; pollution by bombing women and little children in Vietnam and the pollution of racist police who murder hungry children. America's insanity is the greatest form of pollution. If you want to stop war, oppression and pollution, on all levels, the only solution is a people's revolution.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

# "UNCROWNED KING OF THE TRUMPET"

Kenny Dorham was a man, a musician. He was born in Austin, Texas in 1924. He grew up there and left at the age of 18. He went to New York where he met Charles "Yardbird" Parker who liked his style and hired him. He stayed with Charlie Parker for five years and moved on to become one of the most well-known, well-loved horn players in this country. During the peak of his career, Kenny Durham played with Billie Holiday, Max Roach, Lionel Hampton, Dizzy Gillespie, Billy Eckstine and the beautiful master musician, John Coltrane. He then formed the Kenny Dorham quintet. He became known as the fastest trumpet player in the jazz world. His brother, Joel Dorham, has said, "Kenny Dorham was to be-bop what Louis Armstrong was to Dixieland." Though the press

and the news media ignored him, when his talent was denied any recognition, he never complained. He was a quiet man whose love was his horn and the music it could produce for people.

Kenny Dorham died on Tuesday, December 5th, at 4:15 a.m., from a kidney ailment (for the last year he had been receiving treatment from a kidney dialysis machine). He died almost forgotten, the victim of the abuse and suppression felt by those of us who wish to express the sad beauty of this culture of oppression we have endured as Black people. The only praise of his music came after his death. Suddenly, the world remembered him. He was "forgotten" like Bessie Smith, Billie Holiday, Clifford Brown, Lee Morgan and John Coltrane.



KENNY DORHAM

We are always pained by the deaths of our friends and loved ones. We can only hope that their ideas might live on. Creative people are always destined to struggle. What we must work towards is a world in which all people can be free from suffering of any kind. John Coltrane was once asked (in an interview with the press) what he thought could be done about the lives of many struggling musicians. He said, what would be needed is world brotherhood. Coltrane said that we must all work towards unifying ourselves, our communities and the world. If we can establish world brotherhood, then there would be no poverty, no oppression, no war, no racism. Those people who wish to bring beauty to humankind must struggle together through music, art, communications and practical action. Art Blakey, the great jazz drummer, once called Kenny Dorham the "Uncrowned King of the Trumpet." We must raise our voices in songs of praise for him and protest against the country which contributed to his death.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

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# INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS



*For the Angolan people, instruction in math, geography and history is as equally important as instruction in military tactics.*

## ANGOLA: VICTORY IS CERTAIN

*The date December 10, 1956, marks the beginning of the end; an end to the centuries old system of Portuguese colonial rule; an end to the emptiness of human life created by oppression. December 10, 1956, marks the founding of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola--MPLA. It represents a day of faith, of unyielding confidence in the people. Despite all the gags, all the chains, all the forms of torture and murder, the founding of MPLA signifies and upholds the dignity of humankind. The Black Panther Intercommunal News Service commemorates December 10, 1956, and presents to our readers the story of the struggle of the Angolan people under the correct leadership and guidance of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola. On that day, 16 years ago, the people of Angola began to move forward, organized under the banner of unity and solidarity, toward freedom for the people of all Africa.*

As a result, big business in the United States and Western Europe supports both economically and militarily, the failing Portuguese economy. In Angola, 5 1/2 million Black Africans demand their freedom; with the backing of the American Empire less than 300,000 white colonizers arrogantly reject their just demands.

The history of Angolan liberation movements dates among the oldest in all of Africa. In 1953 there emerged the first undercover political parties, the Party of Armed Struggle of Angola (PLUA) and the Movement for the Independence of Angola (MIA). December 10, 1956, saw the founding of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) under the leadership of Dr. Agostinho Neto. Both PLUA and MIA were incorporated into the structure of MPLA. (Later, in 1958, another organization, the Movement for the National Independence of Angola, MINA, also joined MPLA). From its origins, MPLA mirrored a wide range of Angolan people, internally and externally projecting a united front against Portuguese oppression.

Repression mounted against MPLA. By March 1959, the Portuguese secret police began a campaign of sweeping mass raids and arrests. In April of that same year, the Portuguese Air Force (using U.S. "loaned" planes) established their first base in Angola. Then, on June

8, 1960, Dr. Neto was captured and imprisoned (he later escaped in December, 1962).

Protest from the indignant Black Angolan community brought a typical Portuguese reaction--the Massacre at Icolo e Bengo. Thirty Black Angolans were murdered and over 120 were wounded.

Just as the Massacre at Mueda proved a turning point in Mozambique, the Massacre at Icolo e Bengo in Angola was not forgotten. The first armed attack by the Angolan people was carried out on February 4, 1961, in Luanda, the capital of Angola. (A time of great joy will be equally remembered as a time of great tragedy. On February 4, 5, 6 marauding white settlers killed over 3,000 Angolans in Luanda; within weeks, 5,000 Black Angolans were slaughtered in Lower Kassange.)

The villages in the liberated territories--so far MPLA has liberated 1/3 of the country from Portuguese rule--reflects the people's faith in MPLA and in themselves. All activity within the villages is led by the village committee. The chairman of the committee is elected from the village population on the basis of active participation in the struggle. It is he, who, as chairman, contacts all guerrilla movements in the area. Village units are organized to provide food for the MPLA guerrillas, organize medical aid, carry

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Angola, situated along the south-west coast of Africa, is the largest and richest of Portugal's "overseas provinces". (Mozambique, see the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service Vol. IX #7, and Guinea-Bissau are the other two countries struggling under the domination of Portuguese colonial rule.) The fertile land of Angola produces, in abundance, one of the most sought after commodities in the world, "black gold",



## PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

### GUNFIRE IN GREENVILLE

The murder of a Black man by a white policeman started a rebellion in the Black community of Greenville, North Carolina. The rebellion, which lasted eight hours, was highlighted with sporadic gunfire. The incident began when a group of Black men, including Brother Connie James, witnessed policeman Charlie Williamson brutalizing another Black man. They immediately came to the brother's aid, and in the scuffle which followed, Williamson drew his service revolver and killed Connie James.

### ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT IN PHILIPPINES

Imelda Marcos, wife of Philippines president Ferdinand Marcos, was stabbed by an unidentified man wielding a bolo knife. The man was killed immediately by Mrs. Marcos' guards. President Marcos declared martial law in the Philippines earlier this year, giving himself absolute (dictatorial) power. He said he took this action after seeing a "sign from God".

### PEOPLE STOP STRESS

Four members of Detroit's STRESS unit were wounded when persons in a car they had stopped came out shooting. Following the incident, twenty people were arrested in the immediate area, although it was known that none of them did the shooting. STRESS is the Stop The Robberies-Enjoy Safe Streets squad of police which patrols in casual or plain clothes. STRESS police have murdered many Black and poor people in Detroit since the squad's inception.

### \$\$\$ IN SPACE

The Apollo 17 moon expedition was launched this week at Cape Kennedy, Florida. This is supposedly the last moonshot in a long, expensive series of trips to the moon and outer space. Apollo 17 cost 250 million dollars and the entire Apollo program cost 25 billion dollars. The U.S. continues to lead the world in exploits in space while 20 million American people continue to starve.

### CHINA-RUSSIA BATTLE 1

Fighting broke out along the Soviet-Chinese border in central Asia. Five Russian soldiers were killed in the battle. This is the first outbreak of fighting between Russia and China since 1969. The territorial dispute which spurred the recent battle involves a mountain pass in the Soviet republic of Kazakhstan and the Chinese region of Sinkiang.

# SEGREGATED, CAGED AND ATTACKED

## A LOOK AT THE SPECIAL PROGRAMS UNIT AT JOLIET STATE PRISON, ILLINOIS

Clifton Sheppard, a 23 year old Black man, is incarcerated in the Special Programs Unit at Joliet State Prison in Joliet, Illinois. Clifton has been in solitary confinement since November, 1968, when he was convicted of armed robbery and sentenced to 10 to 30 years in prison. Mrs. Odessa Sheppard, Clifton's mother, went to visit him on November 18, 1972. Upon seeing him she noticed that he was barefoot. His shoes and socks had been taken by the guards. The left side of Clifton's face had been burned and there was blood coming from his nose. The sides of his body were swollen and he had a groin injury as a result of being kicked by racist prison guards. He was brought into the visiting room by two guards; he wore chains on his arms and legs.

The situation of Clifton Sheppard is not an unusual one. In fact, it is common in contemporary America. It has been said that to find the measure of a society, one need only look inside the prisons and jails. Joliet State Prison is an example of the sickness that pervades American society. Conditions inside the Special Programs Unit exemplify the nature of the ruling class which creates and maintains such places.

The prisoners of the Special Programs segregation unit are continually subjected to some form of mental and physical abuse. Ventilation is inadequate and dangerously lacking. S.P.U. is so narrow and cramped with the equipment used to contain and control the prisoners, that proper air circulation is impossible. The prisoners who are ill or possess some latent virus have the most difficulty in such an environment. This unit appears to be a potential "disease paradise". On one occasion, a prisoner caught a cold and within three days 84 per cent of the prisoners had a cold.

The cells resemble cages and therefore have been called the "cages" by the prisoners. These cages are tiny compressed living areas, roughly 10 feet by 5 feet by 8 feet. The floor is largely covered by the "bed": a concrete slab approximately 2 feet by 2 1/2 feet by 6 feet. It resembles a poorly designed coffin. The slab is covered with a thin mattress. (As a result of sleeping on this "bed", prisoners receive stiff joints, back trouble, stiff necks and torn ligaments). Any prisoner's personal property is subject to removal or theft at any time when he is absent from his cage. Items that the prisoners have bought with their own funds are sometimes stolen by insensitive guards.

The disciplinary procedure is discriminatory, unlawful and an incredible farce. The Disciplinary Board consists of a captain, a "counselor" and one or two guards. A prisoner goes before this board if disciplinary reports have been



*If the measure of a society is revealed in its prisons, American society deserves our outrage.*

written against him. A prisoner with six disciplinary reports may lose from 8 months to 1 1/2 years of yard and commissary privileges. The loss of these privileges are usually unwarranted, in fact, the majority of the disciplinary cases are composed of disciplinary reports that are either falsely written or are exaggerated far beyond the actual occurrences. There is also the 'ghost ticker', which is a disciplinary report that is the result of a guard's distorted imagination. The prisoner does not know this report has been written until he is taken before the Disciplinary Board. The Disciplinary Board, like its counterpart, the Assignment Committee, is all white and yet the S.P.U. is 96.7% Black. There is no legal representation for prisoners who go before this board and consequently no possible means of defense.

The Assignment Committee decides who will be placed in S.P.U. This committee is composed of two counselors, one head sociologist and one captain. They are all white. The segregation unit is the result of the Special Programs Unit's retaliatory tactics directed at

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# SUBSCRIBE TO SURVIVE

In order to enable members of the Black community to read our newspaper regularly and support the people's survival programs, the Black Panther Party has begun a door-to-door subscription drive for the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service in the Oakland area. Our newspaper will keep you informed of events that happened throughout the Black community and the world.

By subscribing to the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, you will be helping the Free Food Program, Free Health Clinic, Free Shoe Program, Free Breakfast Program and other survival programs implemented by the Black Panther Party to serve the Black community.

To subscribe for three (3) months is \$2.50; \$5.00 for six (6) months; \$8.75 for 1 year and \$100.00 for a lifetime subscription.

When a Black Panther Party member comes to your door, he or she will present an identification card and ask you to fill out a subscription blank. If you are not able to pay immediately, payment can be made later.

Every subscriber will receive a free bumper sticker and a campaign poster of Bobby Seale (who is running for Mayor of Oakland) and Elaine Brown (who is running for Oakland City Councilwoman).

To be informed and to participate in the survival of our people, buy the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service. Read about your community and the world.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



## BLACK PANTHER INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

TO SUBSCRIBE MEANS THAT EVERY WEEK YOU CAN READ THE NEWS ABOUT THE SURVIVAL PROGRAMS FOR THE PEOPLE AND BECOME A PARTICIPANT IN WORKING OUT THE BEST MEANS AND WAYS OF SOLVING THE PROBLEMS OF OUR PEOPLE, OF BLACK PEOPLE AND POOR PEOPLE.

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# OAKLAND - A BASE OF OPERATION!

## PART XXI

### "NO JOBS AVAILABLE"

*Black and poor people in America have been denied everything that can be considered beneficial to our survival. In matters of education, housing and medical care, the Black and poor have come up short everytime, and this country is to blame. Oppressed people are not beggars, although America's power brokers have done their best to reduce us to that level. Our human dignity will not permit us to grovel at the feet of the rich and racist capitalists for rations of our own poverty. Throughout our oppression, we have demanded the right to decent jobs and full employment that would assure Black and other suffering people an adequate income.*

*Certainly there was no problem of unemployment when Black people were first brought to this country, as slaves in chains. The racists seemed to have a wealth of jobs for us to break our backs. Now, in 1972, from the forced labor of Black and poor victims, America has become the richest,*

*most technologically advanced society on the face of the globe. Those in quest of employment are finding that they must be highly trained in some specialized field of technology in order to qualify. The Black and impoverished masses have been excluded from such advanced training and are told "no jobs are available". We, who were once the major asset to the growth of the economy of this country, are fast becoming the liability. All the cotton is picked, "Miss Ann" now has a washing machine, a dishwasher, and only a few, menial jobs are left for us.*

*In this article, part XXI in the series, Oakland-A Base of Operation!, we investigate Black and poor unemployment in Oakland, California. We sincerely hope that this information will better enable us, the "unemployables", to unite together and dispute the contention that there are "no jobs available", to begin to change our relationship to technology so that we can insure adequate employment for everyone.*



*The single biggest barrier to employment is the unwillingness of big business, with support from the government, to hire Black and poor people.*



PART XXI

# OAKLAND - A BASI

## "NO JOBS AVAILABLE"



*The Oakland City Council has done nothing to alleviate the fantastically high rate of unemployment in the West and East Oakland Black communities.*

Economic depression is the "normal" state of things for the Black and poor communities of Oakland. As far as unemployment is concerned, the rate for East and West Oakland's predominately Black community is at least three times as high as other, more favored areas of the city. There are no accurate figures that pin-point the exact number of unemployed people in Oakland, but we do know there are far, far too many. In 1970, the Oakland Economic Development Council (as it strangely calls itself, for the Black and poor communities economic situation remains underdeveloped) estimated that over 15,000 residents of the Oakland Black community were without employment. That was in 1970, and if those figures were correct, it means that then the unemployment rate for Black people in Oakland was about 12%. If the number of Black people who are employed, but receive poverty-level wages is added to that 12%, the unemployment figure for Black people soars past 17%.

However, things are much worse than the shameful story these figures tell. If you are a Black male living in Oakland, under 22 years of age, the job situation is especially miserable. Since 1968, the unemployment rate for young Black men has ranged from 28% to 35%. For young Black women the rate is about 40%. Only for a very short period of time did the unemployment figure for Black people in Oakland taper off. This was the period of time when what some called the "economic boom" came for Black people: the Vietnam War. However, we did not flock to the military recruiting stations to fight the United States' aggressive war in South East Asia; on the contrary, we were overwhelmingly drafted to fight. In matters of war, the U.S. has proven itself to be more than an "equal opportunity employer". By white American standards, this so-called "prosperous" period for Black people would still be categorized as a recession. If there was the slightest improvement in the economic status of the Black community during this period, then it came at a high cost:

thousands of our brothers were killed in Vietnam, at a rate three times higher than that of white soldiers. In addition, there are now about 9,000 Black Vietnam war veterans in Oakland, the majority of whom are unemployed or hold poverty-wage jobs.

The alleged "attempts" by white racist businessmen and their allies in the city government structure to "reduce Black joblessness" have, of course, failed. This was doomed to failure from the outset, for there was no real concern on the part of those who rule Oakland to alleviate Black unemployment. The only thing that the unholy collusion of Oakland's business and government did was to offer fake hopes to the poor communities by instituting, with federal government funds, non-functional job training programs. In the mid-1950's, Oakland's initial "effort" supposedly dealing with unemployment was called Operation Bootstrap, a program which did little more than offer encouragement to Black and poor people to "advance themselves". In 1958, the Oakland Adult Minority Employment Project was started. This program, supposedly designed to get businessmen to hire the unemployed, was a miserable failure also. It seems that big business in Oakland made it well known that it was not about to "risk" employing Black and poor people who are unskilled or who had police records.

The largest of such programs include, the East Bay Skills Center, the Concentrated Employment Program and the New Careers project. They have hardly made a dent in the job problem. No more than 150 unemployed people currently participate, and participation does not mean that a job is forthcoming. The East Bay Skills Center produced over 2,000 graduates between 1966-71, but only about 300 of the graduates are known to have gained employment. Many of the trainees are prepared for such low-paying occupations as grocery clerks, waiters or cooks. Few of those trained for



# E OF OPERATION! PART XXI

skilled work, such as auto-mechanics or welding, have received full-time jobs. Such programs are failures because they assume that Black and poor people are unemployed because of "personal barriers", such as lack of motivation and poor attitudes about work. Those who hold such racist notions ignore the fact that Black people have certainly worked to keep our families together, by any means necessary, against overwhelmingly racist odds.

All of these programs ignore the fact that the single biggest barrier to employment is the unwillingness of business, with the support of city, state, and federal government, to hire Black and poor even if we manage to obtain specialized training. Last year, the federal government gave Oakland 2 million dollars as part of the Emergency Public Employment Program, supposedly to reduce unemployment. This was a mere drop in the bucket considering the magnitude of Oakland's unemployment problem. Over 5,000 poor people competed against each other for less than 400 city government jobs.

Finally, there are the "affirmative action" programs, in which city and other government agencies say they will seek to maintain a fixed quota of minority employees. The city of Oakland got around to setting up this plan in July, 1972. The City Council passed a measure (the Oakland Plan) to require a fifty percent minority employment ratio on all public works projects by 1974. However, the present Mayor of Oakland, John Reading, along with Councilmen Paul Brom, Frank Ogawa and Fred Maggiora all supported the Alameda Plan, which was favored by the city's conservative

construction contractors. The Oakland Plan is based on the racial composition of the city, while the Alameda Plan is based on the racial composition of Alameda County (33% minority) and can be completed in four years instead of two. Both Reading and Brom are loyal allies of the construction industry in Oakland; Brom denounced the Oakland Plan as a "rape of the free enterprise system".

Yet, despite its passage (and perhaps the Oakland City Council knew this), the Oakland Plan will have little impact on the city's unemployment problem. There is no indication that the plan will be actively enforced. Public works employment under this plan will only cover about 4,500 jobs, of which only 1,500 will represent new jobs for the Black community. This is nowhere near the amount needed to significantly reduce Black and poor unemployment in Oakland.

The Port of Oakland, which employs 20,000 workers, has no "affirmative action" plan. The Port commissioners have refused to establish a plan and have also refused to insert equal employment clauses in the leases and contracts they sign. Thus, fewer than 20% of the jobs in the Port are held by Black and Chicano people. Job training and Emergency Employment Programs are mere crumbs which may become fewer and smaller. Nixon wants to cut federal funding for job training programs by 1/3 and the Emergency Employment allocation by 1/2. Although leading Oakland city officials know this, they have made little protest to Washington. Mayor Reading is alleged to favor Nixon's oppressive cut backs.

Black and poor people in Oakland will not find the jobs or the income they need for a decent standard of living until they can exert control over those institutions which provide jobs and income--the city government, the Port, and the various businesses operating in the city. The white businessmen who now rule these institutions care little about poverty in the Black community or our unemployment. They worry only if it affects their profits. When they try to do something about unemployment they do as little as possible and just enough to ease the discontent and restlessness among the unemployed.

If the Black and poor communities can control the city then they can make sure that "affirmative action" programs are fully enforced, that public monies create jobs and not profits, that the economic development in the serves the welfare and needs of the people.

*We want full employment for our people.*

*We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.*

--Point 2, from the Ten-Point Platform and Program of the Black Panther Party.

BOBBY SEALE FOR MAYOR OF OAKLAND  
ELAINE BROWN FOR COUNCILWOMAN

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



All the cotton is picked, "Miss Ann" now has a washing machine and a dishwasher. Rather than give us decent jobs, they would have us starve.



# A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL

## *Free Breakfast Program*

Provides children a free, hot breakfast every school morning.

## *People's Free Food Program*

Provides free food to Black and other oppressed people.

## *Liberation Schools*

Provides free educational facilities and materials to Black and other oppressed children to promote a correct view of their role in the society.

## *Intercommunal Youth Institute*

Provides Black and other oppressed children with a scientific method of thinking and analyzing things, basic skills for living in the society and a concrete alternative to established learning institutions.

## *Legal Aid Educational Program*

Provides full legal assistance to those involved in legal problems, as well as legal aid classes.

## *Free Busing to Prisons Program*

Provides free transportation to prisons for families and friends of incarcerated men and women.

## *Free Commissary for Prisoners Program*

Provides imprisoned men and women with the funds to purchase necessary commissary items inside the prison.

## *David Hilliard People's Free Shoe Program*

Provides free shoes to the people made at the David Hilliard Free Shoe factory and plant.

## *Seniors Against A Fearful Environment (S.A.F.E.) Program*

Provides free transportation and escort service for senior citizens to and from community banks the first of each month.

## *People's Free Community Employment Program* (Being Implemented)

Provides free job-finding services to poor and oppressed people who cannot find work.



## *People's Free Medical Research Health Clinics*

Provides free medical treatment and preventative medical care for the people.

## *People's Free Plumbing and Maintenance Program*

Provides free plumbing and repair services to improve people's housing conditions.

## *Community Cooperative Housing Program*

(Being Implemented)

Provides free housing, collectively owned and managed by the residents and families.

## *People's Sickle Cell Anemia Research Foundation*

Instituted to test and establish a cure for Sickle Cell Anemia, to create better educational programs around Sickle Cell Anemia and maintain an advisory committee of doctors already researching Sickle Cell Anemia.

## *People's Free Clothing Program*

Provides new, stylish and quality clothing free to the people.

## *Intercommunal News Service*

Provides news and information about the Black and other oppressed communities throughout the U.S. and the world.

## *Free Pest Control Program*

Free household extermination of rats, roaches, ants and other disease carrying pests and rodents.

## *People's Free Ambulance Service*

(Being Implemented)

Provides free, 24-hour speedy transportation to people in need of emergency medical care.

## *People's Free Dental Program*

Provides free dental check-ups and treatment for the people, as well as an educational program for dental hygiene and preventative dental care.

## *People's Free Optometry Program*

(Being Implemented)

Provides free eye examinations, treatment and eye correctional equipment (glasses, etc.) for the people.



# EDUCATE TO LIBERATE

The Samuel Napier Intercommunal Youth Institute is a school designed to help our children think. It is located in the Oakland Bay Area and it points out through example that other schools have provided only the most basic courses; courses that have little relevance to the survival of poor people. We are trying to expand the concept that the whole world is the children's classroom.

The youth at Samuel Napier receive instruction in language arts, mathematics, science, health, physical education, political education and people's art. All of these courses are geared to the development of a well-rounded human being.

We need the help of all interested people in making our school run smoothly. Since its inception in 1970, its enrollment has rapidly increased. We need more instructors; instructors with everchanging ideas to cope with the everchanging ideas of the children.

If you have teaching skills and can donate some of your time, please contact the Black Panther Party at 8501 East 14th Street, Oakland, California; or phone 638-0195. The children, our youth, are our future. Without their growth, we, as a people, cannot survive.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

## DAVID HILLIARD...

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

manding the release of David Hilliard, Ericka reported that, "The signatures have come from various states in the United States and from other countries. This shows that David Hilliard has great support all over the world. He was convicted of a crime of which he was innocent and has been treated as an animal rather than a human being." Ericka indicated that the Black Panther Party had furnished those attending the press conference a list of names of 600 people who had written letters to the California Adult Authority in support of David.

Both Sandy Turner and Herman Blake spoke of their relationship with David Hilliard. Herman Blake described his communication with David and his concern for David's family.

Bobby Seale then spoke of the Black Panther Party's concern for David and demanded his release from Vacaville Medical Facility. Bobby

Seale stressed that, "The (California) Adult Authority and the California government, from Reagan on down, do not intend to let David Hilliard out of prison. They (government and prison officials) are deliberately, willfully and maliciously attempting to stop David from being released on parole. Throwing David in the 'hole' and charging him with a 115 (a disciplinary write-up, just nine days prior to his parole hearing date, is a deliberate attempt to try to cover up their planned parole denial. They will claim that the denial is due to some recent disciplinary action, when actually an officer, a guard (Vaughn), harassed David. I think we ought to focus on the vile manner in which the prison system, prison authorities, and the state of California work to maintain control of political prisoners like David Hilliard. This method must be exposed because it is consistently used against many other prisoners, whether they be Black, Brown, Red, or white... This is why people have come for-

ward to sign these letters, statements and petitions demanding David Hilliard's freedom.

"...David Hilliard is a political prisoner, as I was. He is a community organizer. To us, politics is organizing and unifying the people around their basic desires and needs, then moving the people in a democratic way to gain control of the very institutions that affect our lives. When we organize in this manner we start to affect those politicians and corrupt officials within the system. They then move police departments on us and file false charges against us to stop our political activity in the community (as was done with David Hilliard)..."

We will look critically to December 12th, when David's case will be given "official consideration". We must continue signing petitions and sending letters to the California Adult Authority demanding the release of David Hilliard. The ideas of those who imprisoned David have been correctly assessed as insensitive, racist, and reactionary. What David and the Black community know is that: Only the Strong Survive.

FREE DAVID HILLIARD

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE





# PEOPLE'S PETITION

**FOR IMMEDIATE PAROLE OF BROTHER DAVID HILLIARD FROM THE CALIFORNIA PRISON SYSTEM OR AN APPEAL BAIL BOND WITH A RETRIAL JURY OF HIS PEER-GROUP.**

*We the people, residents of the world community, in the spirit of revolutionary intercommunalism, do hereby redress our grievances and petition the courts of America and the California State Government, and Parole Board: That David Hilliard be released from his prison incarceration in the California Penal System to the people of our communities on parole or an appeal bail bond.*

*Brother David Hilliard, political prisoner and a member of the Black Panther Party, was in fact wrongfully convicted on false charges by a predominately white racist jury, as all members of the Oakland Black community were systematically eliminated from the jury selection process in his trial.*

*In light of these facts, we the undersigned, therefore petition that David Hilliard be granted his human and constitutional rights, that is, parole from prison or an appeal bail bond by the American courts pending appeal of his case before higher courts, and that his retrial jury be of his peers, a true representation of a cross section of the community.*

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RETURN TO: BLACK PANTHER PARTY CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS  
8501 EAST 14th STREET OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94621



# SENIORS AGAINST A FEARFUL ENVIRONMENT



*We must unite to change the neglected situation of the elderly. They deserve the best.*

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

ty boards for programs to aid the senior citizens, this money has been channeled into the pockets of program administrators and into unnecessary programs that serve no purpose for the elderly.

S.A.F.E. will not only establish a survival program for seniors, it will also employ a large number of youth in the community, thus serving two neglected segments of the community, uniting them within the framework of one survival program. The youth will drive passenger vans which will be available to the elderly not only on the days they receive their checks, but everyday, 24 hours a day.

Seniors, unable to move about, are put in "old folks homes" by the government. There, they are shut away from their loved ones who must visit them as if they were prisoners. However, 24-hour transportation service will give those who are advanced in age the mobility they need to visit their loved ones themselves. This will add new

meaning to their lives. Mrs. Isabel Van Frank, a senior who first asked the Black Panther Party to help stop the muggings, commented on the program saying, "In S.A.F.E., we have combined the gray power of the elderly with the Black power of the Black Panther Party to give us what we both want and need--People's Power."

In a humane and civilized society, the elderly are looked up to and honored because of their many years of productive labor. In this barbaric and decaying society, those who are older than 50 are pushed aside, denied the right to engage in meaningful activity, and given crumbs (in the form of social security or pensions) which barely sustain their lives. Growing old in America means hopelessness and despair. The Black Panther Party, united with senior citizens and the community, will work to change the neglected and impoverished situation of the elderly and poor people in general. By transforming the structure which currently ignores us, we can attend to the needs of the people and raise senior citizens to their rightful position in society. They have fought and worked hard in order to survive the oppressive conditions they have had to endure. They deserve the best of life.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

# ANGOLA: VICTORY IS CERTAIN

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

goods, and carry out important intelligence work. The work is not easy, the danger is high.

Following the decadent "example" of the criminal U.S. aggression in Vietnam, the Portuguese aim to burn those villages most active in aiding MPLA. They want to burn the crops and bomb the people, causing them to flee to the cities; neither in Vietnam nor in Angola has this massive destructiveness worked to deter the spread of the revolutionary movement.

Active in working among the people is the OMA, the Women's Organization of Angola. A division of MPLA, OMA stresses the importance of the woman's role in the struggle. They aim to eradicate the backward, "traditional" role of women in Angolan society and improve both the image and the position of women within the villages. In the MPLA, the women fight side by side with the men.

Both the health division of MPLA, SAM (Medical Health Assistance) and the educational division, CIR (Centers for Revolutionary Instruction) play

highly functional roles in organizing the Angolan people. CIR has built thousands of make-shift schools throughout the liberated areas. Math, geography, history and political education are the subjects the Angolan people most desire. The primary concern of SAM is training future doctors; there are only 8 doctors in the liberated areas. They give a three month course, whenever possible, emphasizing the treatment of common regional diseases and disorders. Although the hospitals are usually constructed with twigs and straw, SAM has divided them into separate rooms: a "waiting room", a doctors' "reception room", and a "treatment room". Like CIR, SAM follows the concept "each one teach one". SAM graduates go from area to area learning from the people as well as providing needed instruction.

Currently, the military operations of the MPLA are centered around the oil-rich Cabinda region in the north-west corner of Angola. Since 1965, when Portugal's grave financial problems forced her to lift the ban on foreign investments, the Gulf Oil Co. has begun to establish major drilling and refinery operations in Cabinda. In 1970, Cabinda Gulf paid Portugal 16 million dollars,

equal to 30% of Portugal's military budget. With 33 to 50 million dollars as a projected payment for 1972, over 50% of Portugal's military budget will be paid by Gulf Oil. The entire \$200,000,000 operation employs a total of 33 Black Angolans. (Harvard University in Cambridge, Mass., has over 112 million dollars invested in businesses engaged in the exploitation of Black Angolans and Mozambicans, over \$15,000,000 of that is invested in Gulf Oil.)

The MPLA is determined to stop the continued rape and plunder of their people, their land and its resources. MPLA pressure against the Gulf Oil interests has reached the point where Gulf recently signed a contract with Portugal specifying protection against "third party involvement".

MPLA president, Dr. Neto has stated, "Our struggle is against exploitation and for the normal and healthy development of all humankind." Clearly, for the Angolan people and for the MPLA which serves as their guide, "Vitoria e Certa"--VICTORY IS CERTAIN.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



## All Purpose Greeting Cards

by EMORY DOUGLAS  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY



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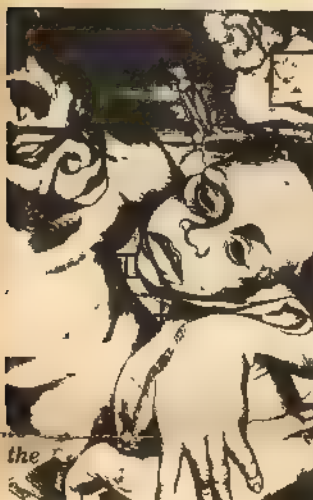
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21



12



9

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(See new price list above)



# CHICAGO MODEL CITIES ELECTION - DEC. 19TH

PEOPLE'S CANDIDATES CAMPAIGN FOR PUBLIC OFFICES



**JOE WATERS** *Lawndale Area*



**MORRIS BROWN** *Grand Blvd. Area*



**ANN JUSTINE** *Grand Blvd. Area*



**YVONNE KING** *Lawndale Area*



**GREGORY GARRETT** *Grand Blvd. Area*



**LONNIE HALL** *Grand Blvd. Area*



**RONALD SATCHEL** *Lawndale Area*

Elections will be held in the city of Chicago, Illinois on December 19, 1972. People living in the Lawndale area, the Grand Boulevard area and the Montrose area will be eligible to vote in this election.

Model Cities, a federally-funded poverty program which received \$38 million every year from HUD (Housing and Urban Development) spends \$12 million yearly to fund community service programs in the Black and poor communities.

Each of the Model Cities Community Council's 40-member boards makes recommendations and approves or rejects programs submitted to Model Cities for funding. The mayor, R.J. Daley, unfortunately has the last say determining which programs the Chicago Model Cities \$12 million budget will fund. However, following the pattern set in Berkeley and Oakland (California), the Black Panther Party is running candidates - and is supporting progressive members of the community for positions on the Model Cities Community Board in Chicago. On each 40-member board, the peo-

ple select 20 new members and the mayor appoints 20.

Candidates running for the Model Cities Board in the Lawndale area are: Joe Waters, Anthony Walker, Sam Gambrell and Shirley Gambrell, candidates from the Black Panther Party are: Ernestine Crossley, Ronald Satchel, Yvonne King and Ralph Bostick.

Candidates running in the Grand Boulevard area are: Anne Justine and Cheryl Peterson; candidates from the Black Panther Party are: William Campbell, Lynn French, Pamela Jones, Morris Brown, Beverlina Powell, Lonnie Hall and Gregory Garrett.

Candidates in the predominately white Montrose area are: Peggy Terry, Walter Coleman and Jack Hart of the Intercommunal Survival Committee.

A vote for each of these candidates will help to bring about needed changes in three of the underserved areas of Chicago. Vote for Survival -- December 19th.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



**LYNN FRENCH** *Grand Blvd. Area*



# AN IMPORTANT AND COMPELLING CRITIQUE OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY BY ITS CHIEF THEORETICIAN

*With an honesty as rare as it is persuasive, Huey P. Newton, founder of the Black Panther Party, records the internal struggles, rivalries, and contradictions within the Party—certain that only by recognizing these contradictions and building from them can the Party "clarify and advance the struggle"*

## TO DIE FOR THE PEOPLE

The Writings of

## Huey P. Newton

Clothbound \$7.95; Vintage paperbound \$1.95.

Now at your bookstore RANDOM HOUSE



## SEGREGATED, CAGED AND ATTACKED

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

those prisoners who had the courage to challenge the function and conditions of the S.P.U. The prisoners who have failed in their attempts to legally abort the criminal operations of the S.P.U. are singled out for revenge. Within the Assignment Committee there is no one to represent the prisoners.

It is a common experience to have commissary privileges denied and personal mail tampered with. Outgoing mail is sometimes confiscated and incoming mail is withheld. One particularly cruel practice is to place the prisoner's incoming mail in the prisoner's "personal file jacket" to be given to the prisoner when he is released. The prisoner usually doesn't know that his incoming mail has been placed in his file and some prisoner's do not find out for years.

The Assignment Committee also determines who will remain in segregation and who will be released. The prisoner who is forced to stay in segregation must remain there for 90 days, before he is allowed to see the Assign-

ment Committee again. Here is where the hard hand of racism has its most telling effect. If the prisoner has received a disciplinary report during that 90 days (even though he has been disciplined already by having lost one year's yard privilege and one year commissary), he will be denied removal from the segregation unit. The prisoner will be returned to segregation and told that he has to do another 90 days without receiving a report.

The prisoners in segregation are allowed only one visiting day each month. They are forced to accept their visits under conditions arranged to humiliate and degrade both the prisoner and his visitors. When a prisoner from S.P.U. receives a visit, he must wear shackles around his waist, there is an extension chain connected to these shackles and at the other end of the chain is a huge steel ring. This ring is held by one of the guards throughout the entire visit, like holding a dog on a leash. The prisoners wear a jumpsuit several sizes too large, never pressed and seldom clean.

On particular feature to the S.P.U.

IS THE "green monster". The "green monster" is a great rolling windowed iron shield which the lieutenants and officers hide behind while preying upon the prisoners. It is 7 feet by 2 feet by 8 feet and has no back to it. It rolls on 8 wheels and has 3 unbreakable windows. It is made entirely of steel except for the windows; it is colored a deep pine green. Guards and officers use the "green monster" by walking behind it and rolling it up to the prisoner's cell door. They remain behind it while reaching around and spraying the prisoner with mace until he is blinded. After the mace has taken effect, the guards unlock the door, pile into his cage and beat the prisoner.

The brothers in the S.P.U. of Jo-Jer State Prison face a day to day fight for survival just as we do in the outside, larger prison. Though the conditions which confront Black people are devastating, we are not discouraged. Knowing the nature of the enemy gives us a clearer understanding of the things we must do to achieve victory and the liberation of all oppressed people.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



# BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

## MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

### WHAT WE WANT

1. WE WANT FREEDOM, WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people

### WHAT WE BELIEVE

inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces, and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.



ALL THE COTTON IS PICKED, "Miss Ann" now has a washing machine, a dishwasher, and only a few, menial jobs are left for us.



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